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FOREWORD

The month of July, 1954, witnesses the advent of a modest publication, the Kentucky Foreign Language Quarterly, published by the Department of Modern Foreign Languages of the University of Kentucky at Lexington.

For seven years there has been held annually at this institution a Foreign Language Conference which has attracted to the Bluegrass Region scholars from all parts of the United States and from many foreign countries. Papers treating linguistic, literary, humanistic, social, historical, and pedagogical aspects of as many as thirty-two language areas have been presented.

Many of these papers have already appeared in learned reviews, but many are now gathering dust on our library shelves, and we have felt that in the pages of our Quarterly we might share with language enthusiasts this excellent material which would otherwise be permanently lost. It is not our intention, however, to confine our source of supply to the Foreign Language Conference, although at first we shall draw heavily upon it. We sincerely hope that many a manuscript, presented at other language meetings or written directly for publication, will find its way to our editorial desk. We shall also welcome any words of praise (we hope!) or criticism. It is our keen desire to broaden our scope by adding, in time, new departments to our publication.

Some issues of the Quarterly will be dedicated to only one literary field, while others will be more general in nature. The second issue will contain articles on Mexican subjects, the third will be devoted to the teaching of foreign languages in the elementary grades, and the fourth will be a general issue.

The Quarterly is at present a slim little review, but we trust you will find appropriate certain comments made centuries ago by the Archpriest of Hita:

Es pequeño el grano de la buena pimienta;
pero más que la nuez conforta y más caliente.
¡mejor es en la prueba que en la salutación!



The Humanism of André Malraux

By Charles D. Blend, Ohio State University

Before anyone can begin to discuss the humanism of a man such as André Malraux he must first attempt to clarify what he means by the term itself as used in this context. Those who are familiar with his works will recognize immediately that it would be a mistake when speaking of André Malraux to use the word in the Renaissance sense of the study of ancient writings. If viewed strictly from this aspect, it would, among other things, be too limited in its implications for our purposes here. For the Renaissance man, however, it also meant an emphasis on things human as compared to things divine, and it is from this viewpoint that we must consider humanism if we wish to use the word as applying to Malraux's preoccupations and beliefs.

Perhaps it would also be better to replace the word "emphasis" with the term "central problem" when speaking of the works of Malraux and those writers whose Weltanschauung is similar to his, for, as we shall see, his humanism is by its very nature problematical. For Malraux, man finds himself alone in a universe in which he plays a temporary and fleeting role, a part which is without purpose and absurd. Death puts an end to individual human life, and the possible extinction of the species may terminate even the concept of man once and for all. Even should this return to the néant not take place, man will still have no vital role in a universe which can very well do completely without him. As Malraux himself puts it: "Un univers qui se foutait incontestablement de lui." For a thinker whose primary interest is man himself, the contemplation of such a situation is certain to bring suffering. This angoisse vibrates most strongly in Malraux's earlier books, and is stated most forcefully in La Condition humaine. The problem, and the core of his humanism therefore, becomes: What to do about man in order to give him some stature and dignity?

Since the only things available to work with are man and his world we must make the most possible out of them--concentrate our efforts on the human. Here we may accurately use Michelet's definition of Renaissance humanism as "la découverte de l'homme par l'homme," and even go beyond it to Protagoras' dictum, "Man is the measure of all things." Obviously, Malraux and those who think as he does must be considered agnostic philosophers from any normal religious point of view, since the concept of God or that of an after life does away with the basic problems. This is not to say that he entirely disregards religion. Anyone who reads his Psychology of Art will note how much credit religion is given as a source of artistic inspiration. For Malraux, however, God is a creation of man rather than the other way around. The idea of divinity is one way of combating the anguishing knowledge of man's insignificance in

the universal scheme of things. It is unsatisfactory to Malraux, probably because of at least two reasons: first, because it turns too much attention away from the human; and second, because he simply cannot believe in it.

This heritage of absurdity, suffering, and death seems a rather negative one with which to begin to construct a humanism, but I hope to demonstrate that it can be extremely fertile. Long before Malraux, in 1834, Alfred de Vigny wrote in a poem which he called Paris:

Je ne sais d'assurés, dans le chaos du sort,
Que deux points seulement, LA SOUFFRANCE ET LA MORT.
Tous les hommes y vont avec toutes les villes.
Mais les cendres, je crois, ne sont jamais stériles.

In the progression from "souffrance" and "mort" to "ne sont Jamais stériles" we have the key to the source of Malraux's humanism, although the words were written by another man almost a century before the appearance of La Condition humaine. Man must take what is left to him and do the utmost that he can with it in order to have any dignity at all. His action will constitute a challenge flung at a universe which relegated him to an absurd position. Everything that he changes or metamorphoses (and metamorphosis is an important word to Malraux) becomes an element of this challenge, this interrogation or, to use Malraux's term, this mise en question of the universe. This ability to mettre en question is for him man's divine spark, divine only in that it is at the heart of his challenge, since it originates in man himself and not in any transcendent source. The human race must create a world by and for itself and beginning and ending in itself. What man cannot actually change he can attempt to comprehend, and he can transmit his findings to his fellow men. In Malraux's words:

Des hommes courbés sous ce destin se sont relevés
pour partir inlassablement vers la nuit pour rendre
intelligible l'immense confusion du monde et
transmettre leurs découvertes au lieu d'en faire
des secrets.

We said earlier that for Malraux religion is a creation of man. As such it is valid to consider this as an element of the struggle of man against his destiny and to treat it as part of humanism. Since anything that bears the imprint of man falls within the range of this humanism we are justified in using the term universal in the best Renaissance sense of the word.

The major difficulty in this struggle is that it must be carried on with full awareness that it may eventually end in annihilation or at best count for nothing in the universal chaos. Action in such circumstances is tragic action, and in an address to a UNESCO conference we have Malraux's own statement that, as he envisages it, the only valid humanism is a tragic one:

Il y a un humanisme possible, mais il faut bien nous dire, et clairement, que c'est un humanisme tragique. Nous sommes en face d'un monde inconnu; nous l'affrontons avec conscience...Et nous ne pouvons fonder une attitude humaine que sur le tragique parce que l'homme ne sait pas où il va, et sur l'humanisme parce qu'il sait d'où il part et où est sa volonté.

The final word of this passage, "volonté," is a vital one in the process of building a humanism starting with such a negative basis as that of absurdity. To decide to act constructively, and to continue so to act while fully cognizant that the end result may well be nothing requires a will of truly heroic proportions. For this reason heroism is an absolute prerequisite if any dignity is to be salvaged for man. As for Kyo in La Condition humaine, the sens héroïque must be the guide of life. This is necessary both to prevent inaction and to restrain one from indulging in the wrong type of action, for any type of really intense sensation or activity is capable of dulling man's awareness of his absurd position. If not controlled and directed by this heroic sense, action is likely to degenerate into a form that is entirely self-centered and beneficial only to the person who performs it; even worse, it may be damaging to someone else. This will be treated more fully when we consider the ethical aspect of this humanism. Suffice it to say here that the heroic sense must make the action take a direction that will add dignity to the human picture as a whole and not act simply as a kind of soporific for a single individual. It would not be justifiable to apply the term "humanistic" to any philosophy whose results would be confined to a single person to the exclusion of the rest of humanity. As we have seen earlier in Malraux's own statement men must "transmettre leurs découvertes au lieu d'en faire des secrets."

Exactly what, then, are the elements that make up this position to which I have chosen to refer as a humanism? In its essence it is an unending, tragic, and heroic struggle. Man fights to accomplish the utmost possible with that which his irrelevant status in the universe leaves to him--the human being himself and anything that he can attain with his body, mind, and spirit. When Malraux says, in reference to this humanism, that man knows "d'où il part" he means simply that he recognizes his ridiculous and transitory condition and along with that the fact that if he is to have any dignity he must create it himself. The words "et où est sa volonté," which are in a sense the crux of this humanism, indicate his decision to make this creative effort and at the same time to reject anything that will detract from a set of values that are based purely on man and his world. The fact that all this must be done with full awareness that man can never know the end of this ceaseless effort (which may very well be complete annihilation) is shown by the phrase "tragique parce qu'il ne sait pas où il va." Admittedly, this is a very harsh vision of human existence--to

give dignity to something that begins in absurdity and has no hope of ending in anything definite and permanent. It is not, however, the completely bitter, pessimistic vision that it is frequently said to be by some people who have written on it and related theories. This has been particularly true in this country and is partially due, I believe, to a tendency to associate the English word "despair" too closely with the French "désespoir," a pivotal term in this philosophy. Such statements as Sartre's "l'action commence au delà du désespoir," and Malraux's "il n'est pas nécessaire d'espérer pour entreprendre" show the error in emphasizing the more extreme connotations of our word, implying as it does a rather complete sense of futility. Actually it is a matter of nuance but in this case there is an important difference: taken to mean simply an absence of hope it still permits constructive action provided that the will to do so is present. This will is the sine qua non of Malraux's humanism.

Let us turn now to consider some of the concrete positive aspects of this humanism as they manifest themselves in Malraux's works, although time will permit us to do little more than to skim over them. First the ethical implications.

In a structure whose cornerstone is the human being, it is obvious that the most valuable single element is man himself. Therefore, the key problem is to discover a guiding principle which will assure that nothing can detract from this value. For Malraux, the concept of human dignity forms this guide and it is found expressed throughout his works. The human being has an inherent value that must not be violated under pain of losing completely the battle against the absurdity of existence. For this reason, the one unforgivable crime is to humiliate another human being, since, as Kyo says, "la dignité, c'est le contraire de l'humiliation." Also implied is the necessity to do what one can to see that the dignity of others is maintained intact because this standard must be accepted everywhere if man is to have any stature. In Les Noyers de l'Altenbourg we find the statement that "la dignité, si un homme en a, il en a partout; sans ça moi je dis qu'il en a nulle part."

This stress on dignity is in turn related to another vital element of Malraux's humanism--that of fraternity. Isolated in the structure of the universe, man's most important problem is to establish a relationship with the rest of his kind. The most effective way to achieve this fraternity is by participation in the common struggle. The most certain way to be cut off from it is by humiliation. In L'Espoir Malraux states that "le contraire de l'humiliation, c'est la fraternité." By comparing this with Kyo's remark in La Condition humaine we see that for Malraux fraternity and human dignity are inseparable. To be a part of mankind, with a recognized inherent value, and to accord this same value to others is the absolute minimum requirement for taking part in the great human effort.

Along with the preceding elements, there has been in Malraux's works an ever-growing preoccupation to attempt to discover whether there is a fundamental that is constant in the overall concept of man--an element of unity. In his own words, "Existe-t-il une donnée sur quoi puisse se fonder la notion d'homme?"

Particularly in recent years Malraux has come to regard art as one of the greatest facets of man's challenge to the cosmos, a supreme effort to make the world conform to the human. The work of art not only metamorphoses the world to make it conform to human values, but also is the best method of overcoming the barrier of death in order to transmit the results to future generations. He states:

Le grand artist établit l'identité éternelle de l'homme avec lui-même. Par la façon dont il nous montre tel acte d'Orest ou Oedipe, du Prince Hamlet ou des frères Karamazoff, il nous rend proches ces destins si éloignés de nous dans l'espace et dans le temps. Il nous les rend fraternels et révélateurs, ainsi certains hommes ont-ils ce grand privilège, cette part divine, de trouver au fond d'eux-mêmes, ce qui nous délivre de l'espace, du temps et de la mort.

In closing I should like to make one or two general remarks about this humanism. Although the strict Renaissance use of the term may not be applicable here, I feel that it is justifiable to use the word "humanism" for a philosophy that concentrates its entire interest on man and his works and which, as we have seen, is intended to be applied to the human race as a whole. It may appear harsh and negative as compared to the joyful optimism of the Renaissance, but it is to be noted that while Malraux is fully aware of its tragic dimensions he is also aware of a pride in that purely human accomplishment to which he consistently refers as "l'aventure humaine." He writes at the end of La Crédation artistique: "L'humanisme, ce n'est pas dire 'Ce que j'ai fait, aucun animal ne l'aurait fait,' c'est dire, 'J'ai refusé ce que voulait en moi la bête, et suis devenu homme sans le secours des dieux.'" Even more simply, this humanism is, to use the final words of L'Espoir, the accomplishment by men of "la possibilité infinie de leur destin."

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The Humanities for the Next Decades

By Mortimer Graves, Executive Director,
American Council of Learned Societies

A generation ago we were just emerging from a disaster which in our ignorance of the future we called The Great World War. At tremendous costs, to both winners and losers, we had suppressed the tyranny which we held responsible for the catastrophe and were trying to regain the peaceful way which we optimistically regarded as "normalcy." One element in this "normalcy" was the reestablishment of the power of our erstwhile opponents, with the result that in the midst of the generation we were deep in a Greater World War with these same opponents beside which the earlier cataclysm seems insignificant. This too we won, whatever that may mean, again at fantastic costs to both victor and vanquished, and now we are engaged in building up once more the states which fought us in preparation for or as a defense against a Greatest World War of which it would take a courageous prophet to deny the imminence. Surely even the most inscrutable omnipotence could not have devised as a rationale for the universe such an awful and unintelligible combination of danse macabre and folie circulaire; there must be something wrong.

Some see in this process only the machinations of wicked men; once these can be destroyed, all will be well. Their belief is not shattered by the continued experience that each group of wicked men destroyed is followed by another group even wickeder and more diabolically clever. Others find hope of a better ordered world only in some form of monolithic social structure; if only everybody can be brought to become a communist, or a fascist, or a Christian, or a Muslim, things will settle themselves. Of all possible solutions this seems the most unlikely; one prediction that can be made with confidence regarding all generations that we can see ahead is a world of multifarious societies of widely diverse cultures. Still others pin their faith on continually widening material prosperity paced by American example, with little clear evidence of any negative correlation between prosperity and bellicosity. Among Americans especially there is a disposition to look for mechanisms with which to solve even problems of this kind. The gadget has been good to America; what more natural than to create a United Nations as a mechanism and then to expect it to function as a gadget for the production of peace? When it refuses to produce peace at the turn of a switch or to find solutions as does a computing machine, we shy away from it.

In spite of the inadequacy of all these simple and unilateral explanations, we are committed to a faith that the discord of nations which we call war is not inevitable. Like disease, it can be conquered by human intelligence so soon as that can be directed at its causes. That our scientific method

has not yet subjected war to the will of mankind does not destroy our faith; it only presses us to explore whatever new avenues open before us. The easy confidence of the turn of the century that advancing scientific discovery and its application would make war impossible has dissolved in the experience that advancing science of itself makes wars only the more horrible, all-embracing, and devastating. The social studies which, in the United States at least, are beginning to deserve the name of sciences have not yet found the way to apply their newly discovered knowledge and techniques to the creation of a better world. The humanities, that third field of inquiry into which our intellectual life is organized, have not yet been tried. Nobody seems yet to have asked himself what the humanities might have to contribute to the discovery of the way to an age in which internecine conflict is not the only conceivable state of co-existence between the differently patterned societies which are destined to inhabit it.

It is the burden of this paper that the humanities--especially in America--have a major, and perhaps even a decisive contribution to make towards the solution of those problems which lie between us and the kind of world of peace that we want. But before they can do so the humanities themselves will have to suffer a transformation, or rather, perhaps, complete a transformation of which more than the emergent signs are already visible, through which they come to have a congruence and a consonance with the world of the second half of the twentieth century which has not hitherto always marked them.

What are these humanities? We could easily lose ourselves in the wastes of definition--philosophical, historical, enumerative. The humanities are all those studies which conduce to understanding the minds and emotions of men in all times and in all places; in understanding, that is to say, what differentiates the human being from the rest of nature. The humanities are those sciences which register, codify, and evaluate human experience. They are, because the human being is a social animal and the asocial man in unthinkable, social sciences, and it is thus unfortunate that this term has been arrogated to a more limited domain, the study of the social action in itself rather than the study of the individual in society. Finally, the humanities are the languages and literatures, the philosophies and religions, history, the several arts, and the techniques and disciplines ancillary to these studies.

Our ancestors, indeed even our elder contemporaries, would not have defined the humanities so. To them the humanities centered in the Greek and Latin classics, literary, historical, and philosophical. Christian theology and theologians, secular history, the post-Renaissance vernacular literatures of Western Europe were grudgingly and belatedly granted a place in the penumbra. Concern with the experiences of mankind outside of the Mediterranean influence, such as the societies of the Orient, was limited to those aspects of their civilizations which fitted

comfortably into study through the techniques of philology. The creative arts were peripheral when not entirely excluded. Most defenders of these studies in our universities and colleges justify their field of concern by some such argument as the following: The life of the individual and of the various societies into which he is organized is made up of a constant succession of decisions. Some of the simpler decisions can be made on the basis only of scientific and logical considerations, but these are very few. The factors leading to most decisions, and this is especially true of the most important ones, are only in minor degree scientific or logical; they are something else, frequently called emotional, ethical, aesthetic, intuitional.... Even advancing science encroaches but little and very slowly upon this pattern; by far the largest portion of the process of decision-making lies outside the realm which we control by science and logic. It is this ascientific alogical residuum which the humanities try to understand. So far as it is formulated it is religions and philosophies; to the extent that it reflects human experience, we call it history. If, when we call experience to our aid, we are limited to our own individual experience, we are in sorry plight, for any individual's experience can be but a trifling part of the whole. The power to make good decisions is, consequently, almost a direct function of the vicarious experience of the decider. This is just what the humanities provide. They concern themselves with the experiences which mankind has had and is having within that area of decision not directly amenable to his scientific knowledge or his logical processes. They enlarge the realm of experience and of comparison beyond that otherwise attainable by human reason. Obviously, these humanities are pertinent for all time; their relevance to the problems of the present day cannot be questioned. But the modern world demands something more; it is immensely expanded. The wealth of human experience upon which we have to base our decisions is now so great that no limit to it set by geographical accident can satisfy us; nothing human can be alien to the humanist.

With some such concept as this many of the world's most pressing present problems come within the scope of humanistic studies and of humanistic studies alone. This is, of course, particularly true of problems of relationship between individual and individual, group and group, culture and culture. Wherever it is necessary to reach a meeting of minds over the barriers set up by language, by differences in historical experience or in cultural traditions, there the humanities belong. It happens that at this time in the world's history precisely this meeting of minds among diverse civilizations presents it with the most dangerous and urgent of its problems. The world as we and our children will see it will be a congeries of diverse cultures,--our own Western, Communist, Far Eastern, Islamic, Indian, etc., --each struggling for its share of the allegiance of mankind. All want the advantages of life in a scientific, industrialized, and socially organized world; all want to preserve individual values which are dear to them and to seek solution to those

problems not immediately amenable to our science in their own separate ways. The differences between them, consequently, are differences in systems of thought and emotion, in religions and philosophy, in historical experience and cultural tradition, and these differences are expressed in diverse languages and literatures and in the several arts. The mere enumeration of these differences is a catalogue of the humanities. Only an applied modern humanities attuned to this function holds any hope for such understanding as can assure a relationship between the societies which embody these alien and sometimes conflicting cultures other than one of friction, hostility, and eventual war.

In a world of this character there can be no greater danger than vast American power coupled with the existent American illiteracy in the life and thought of the great areas of the world in which history has begun to march anew. We must realize that a great new revolution--in large part our revolution of our making--has spilled over into the rest of the world, where it must function in contexts different from that of its own origin. If we do not understand both the revolution and its new contexts we can have little hope of influencing, controlling, or even living comfortably with it. It is fair to remark that all too little comprehension of the nature of this challenge distinguishes America's world-leadership of the present; but it is also fair to add that there is a growing uneasiness which promises a better future. At least six eminent Americans--Justice Douglas, Governor Dewey, Chester Bowles, Adlai Stevenson, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Vice-President Nixon--have recently returned from extensive travel or long sojourn in Asia and have reported publicly on their experiences. All, and with quite surprising unanimity, evidence a great broadening of concept as a result of their meeting with ways of thought new to them. All propose new American attitudes towards the rest of the world, new American undertakings with respect to it, new American relations with it. Unfortunately, none of them has yet pointed out that there does not exist an adequate body of Americans trained in the many necessary competences of languages and cross-cultural understanding to plan and administer these new undertakings and relations, nor does the American educational establishment, impressive as it is, yet develop a public opinion sufficiently sensitive to the nature of the problems involved to accept the new attitudes towards them and to support those who must actualize these attitudes in operations. This is the state of affairs which must be changed; this change is the point at which the new American leadership of the underprivileged world must begin; it is a task which only modernized humanities can perform.

There is obviously here presented a major problem for our educational establishment. One would think that with American commitments all over the world, American education would be dominated by a world-wide concern, that there would be no significant contemporary civilization which could not be

studied adequately somewhere in the United States, that every educated American would have met, as part of his educational experience, at least one civilization differently patterned from his own. The facts, unfortunately, are almost the reverse: No non-West European civilization is fully represented in all the pertinent departments of any American institution of higher learning; many civilizations, knowledge of which might be a matter of life and death to us under appropriate circumstances, are not represented in American university or college curricula anywhere. American education is still almost as West European centered as it was when Cathay seemed as far away as the moon. If American higher education is to develop a generation of Americans equipped to live intelligently in their world it must rid itself, and speedily, of what Henri Peyre called its "Mediterranean fixation."

This is a formidable task. We must neither delude ourselves as to its magnitude nor allow this magnitude to frighten us into inaction. And to overwhelming magnitude is added the factor of time; even today decisions have to be taken in the name of our society on the basis of knowledge of the elements of decision which in any other field of scientific operations would be considered trivial. In this context the casual American attitude that everything can be accomplished with the power of money leaves much to be desired; even with large funds--and large funds will be necessary though in comparison with the costs of armaments they would seem very small--we must count on a long time of gestation before appreciable results are apparent. For this is no mere matter of developing a few centers at which some American "experts" on Russia, Indonesia, Africa, etc. can be trained for their specific diplomatic, military, industrial tasks abroad, though the building of such centers should, of course, be a part of any complete program; it is one of creating a higher educational establishment within the purview of which come all the significant civilizations of mankind, not as things exotic and irrelevant to our own experience, but as part of the process of understanding the inhabitants of the world in which we have to live and in which, indeed, it seems that we are called upon for leadership. With such an apparatus we can train all the specialists that we need. Even more important, we shall have the possibility of informed public opinion which will both require and control the utilization of such specialists, for our tradition supposes that policy is to be made by our society as a whole; only the execution of the policy is the business of specialists. Some form of democratic relation with the rest of the world is possibly only if we can have an educational structure of this character. That no other country has ever had it is irrelevant; no other country has ever needed it in the terms in which this need is now imposed upon us.

Later in this paper we shall consider the practical steps by which this expansion of our intellectual and educational horizons is to be brought about. Here it is our purpose only

to emphasize that the most important element in it is a deeper comprehension of those societies comprising more than two thirds of the world's population which are differently patterned from our own. To this must be added a better understanding of our own culture.

In most other societies of the world the American experience is recognized as one of the most stupendous achievements of human enterprise in all time. And this it truly is, even though like most human accomplishment it leaves much to be desired. Reactions to it abroad range the whole spectrum from complete acceptance as the most desirable way of life to bitter rejection as the invention of the powers of darkness. In the main, however, the wisest and most constructive of the leaders of thought in societies other than our own find much in the American structure worthy of emulation. They want to understand how our immense material prosperity was brought about, how they must proceed in order to attain an approximation to it, how, without the destruction of values in their own cultures which they want to preserve, they can fit it into their own pattern of civilization. The Buddhist or Hindu, for example, wants television, the aeroplane, and the good ways of life which they imply, but sees no reason why he must take with them what seems to him the primitive religious or philosophical context in which by historical accident they are enmeshed; his problem is to discover a way to accommodation. Similarly, advanced political thinkers abroad, much as they would like the product of a machinery such as our own for the satisfaction of material needs, look askance at the acceptance with it of a political establishment or a political philosophy which to them seems outmoded or at best ill-suited to the condition of their own society. It is at this point that the world gets very little assistance from American thought. Few Americans, in the first place, are aware that any such problem exists. This is perhaps especially true among those Americans who are called upon to come into direct contact with the outside world. In general these are highly specialized technicians in diplomacy, in religion, in education, in the applied sciences, whose experience is in the exercise of particular skills with minimum concern for the context within which those skills are employed. Few Americans have any really profound understanding of the nature of the American experience, of the particular and unique historical, cultural, and ecological conditions which made it possible, of the consequent limitations on its transferability from one society to another. To a considerable degree this is precisely because so few Americans have had the opportunity to compare the remoter foreign cultures with their own or to stand apart and look inward on their own culture sufficiently to discern its bases and its uniqueness. This is but indifferent preparation for the world leadership to which America seems to be called.

The fact is that, far from being the monument to a planless and chaotic individualism as it is generally described,

the American experience is a monument to an almost fantastic genius for spontaneous organization which all other societies cannot be presumed to possess. No society has ever reached higher forms of organization than the United States, and the discernible trend is in the direction of increasingly higher levels, not towards dissociation. In return for material prosperity and power we accept willingly regimentation in both its production and its enjoyment. The American marvel is not freedom from organization, but that organization sits so lightly on our shoulders. If we have any lesson to teach the rest of the world, this is it, but we cannot teach it intelligently unless we understand it ourselves. What are the elements--cultural, historical, geographical--which have moulded themselves into the American society that we know? Do these elements exist or can they be developed in the despoiled, war and disease ravaged, overpopulated, ignorant, under-resourced societies of Asia and Africa without capital structures? Only when we can make these comparisons are we in a position to give these societies advice, to say nothing of leadership. What such societies need more than anything else is organization; perhaps, because of the situation in which they find themselves, even higher types of organization than we ourselves need. Totalitarian philosophies both of the right and of the left offer them organization. Our quarrel with the totalitarians for the minds of men misses the point if it is expressed solely in terms of individual freedoms versus social organization. What we really have to say is that from our own experience we can offer forms of organization more easily attainable and better suited to their welfare. If we cannot do this, our struggle with the totalitarians is already lost. It is fair to say that there is but little realization of this reason for a much deeper comprehension of the American experience than is now prevalent in our educational structure.

If the American impact on these differently patterned societies is not to be wholly destructive it must be based solidly upon this process of accommodation. We must always remember that the Russian or the Oriental with whom we deal has already had the experience of making some accommodation between his own culture and that of the West; this is the more the case if he speaks our language. He consequently finds the American who has never had a similar experience, who has never looked over the fences set up around him by his own culture, who has never even sensed the possibility of such an educational experience, immature, lacking in breadth of view, and intolerant. This simple fact accounts for much of the lack of meeting of minds between America and the rest of the world. Only a deeper understanding of our own culture, a knowledge of the other cultures with which it is now in contact, and the consequent broadening of our realm of comparison promise constructive American influence on those societies now exposed to the American impact.

But the ability to make these comparisons and accommodations is not alone important for Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe; we ourselves also have to live in a modern and swiftly moving world. We ourselves must make similar accommodations to it, although the tempo and severity of the adjustment may not be quite so violent with us as with the less privileged societies. In large measure because of the advance of knowledge, the development of communications, and the broadening of our range of comparison, it seems impossible that every basic American concept, especially those upon which we pride ourselves and which seemed so solidly founded and obvious a generation ago--the individual freedoms, equality, free enterprise and competition, our moral and ethical standards--not be challenged, reexamined, and redefined in terms congruent with our twentieth century knowledge and our corresponding formulations of the relations between the individual and his society and his cosmos. We shall escape heartaches only if we accept this challenge ourselves and welcome the prospect of a generation of the most profound and perhaps disturbing political, social, and cultural thinking that we have ever been called upon to do. No outmoded formulation will withstand the pressures of new knowledge and new communications simply because it is the favorite American formulation and adhered to by the richest and most powerful society the world has ever known. The alternative to reformulation is more misunderstanding and more catastrophe, and the more basic the concepts that have to be reformulated, the more certain it is that they can be studied and understood only with humanistic knowledge, techniques, and presuppositions. There is, consequently, a sense in which the experience of all societies, no matter how remote or how alien, in adjusting themselves to the modern age can be part of our own search for this adjustment. This is an intellectual enterprise in which we are all engaged together; cooperation in the search for solutions is the best hope for the kind of world we want our descendants to live in.

It is our contention that, first, a very large proportion of the most important and urgent of the problems faced by our world at this timeliness in the region of concern sketched above; the kind of world we are to live in depends upon their solution. Second, all these problems lie predominantly within the area of scientific inquiry denominated the humanities; the knowledge and techniques required for their study and solution are those of the languages and literatures, the philosophies and religions, history, and the several arts. Obviously, the other social sciences, such as political science, economics, and sociology, also have an important role to play, but these can function only in a cultural context which can be understood only humanistically. Which is the handmaiden and which the mistress is unimportant; both are necessary and complementary.

In this situation it is supremely unfortunate that the humanities in our educational establishments have been allowed

over the past few decades to fall into so low a state. In part this decay has doubtless been due to the superior attractions of developing fields of study in the natural sciences and the social sciences, but a large share of the blame must be attributed directly to the humanities themselves, which have been slow in recasting themselves towards consonance with the requirements of our times. This process among those professionally concerned with humanistic studies is now, fortunately, well under way, but meanwhile humanistic studies have lagged badly behind the other fields, especially in our secondary schools and even in our universities and colleges. The result is an education which threatens not to meet the challenge of the days ahead.

Many thoughtful educators have been disturbed about this state of affairs for a long time, and there has developed a considerable literature on the decline of the humanities, the fall of the liberal arts, the triumph of training over education, and related topics. More recently this concern has spread beyond the classroom; the best of our scientists and technologists have no hesitancy in making public confession that the further they press the boundaries of their scientific knowledge the more it becomes necessary to express their ultimates in humanistic terms. Business and professional leaders tell us constantly that our industries and our professions are once more demanding the broadly educated man rather than the merely proficient technician. A recent magnificent address by Judge Learned Hand calling for the rehabilitation of the liberal arts in our education reached the high water mark in this tide of public opinion. (But it was remarkable for its quality rather than only for its content.) This growing public realization of the importance of the humanities to our society is very gratifying; it suffers, however, from two disabilities.

First, there is in all such public statements which have come to our notice but slight indication of any concept that what our society needs is a new humanities. Rather, they are generally imbued with an aroma of nostalgia for the humanities of the classroom which this older generation knew. Unquestionably these older humanities still have very high value. They have shown their power to produce the broad and liberal individual; they are a mark of the urbanity and the maturity of our society. Education could do far worse than revert to them. But with all this, they do not suffice for the task which the humanities are called upon to perform over the next few decades. The humanities for the nineteen sixties must be much more than an ornament to our society; they must be the most practical and useful of our studies, those which most help us in the problems which we have to face. They must be cultivated as the only channels to understanding not primarily our spiritual ancestors but the very people with whom we have to live. Second, these public pleas for the rehabilitation of the humanities very rarely carry with them

any suggestion of social action which might bring about the happy consequence; indeed some of the most eloquent pleaders have confessed that they do not know what can be done to improve the condition which they deplore. Sometimes a slight measure of concreteness is achieved by proposals that more funds be sought for the independent liberal arts colleges, and several organizations have been formed for the purpose of seeking such funds from industry and even government. But, as has been pointed out above, funds are not enough; in fact, there is serious danger that sudden accretion to the funds available to the humanities might produce an effect the reverse of that which is required by strengthening existent attitudes and distributions within the field which do not answer to the needs of these times. The problem is to rejuvenate the humanities, not merely to relieve their indigence.

Further, there is little which any educational institution, no matter how eminent, can do of itself; the problem is a national one, to be attacked only on a national basis. The first need is to develop a whole new generation of humanistic scholars who conceive of the humanities in a new tone, as those sciences which have the utmost of practical value in the world of today as the means of solving today's problems and which do not recognize the limitations of only one cultural tradition but take the whole of humanity's cultural traditions as the province of the liberal arts. The declining fortunes of the humanities over the past few decades have brought it about that there does not at present exist even adequate replacement of the passing generation of humanistic scholars, to say nothing of a labor pool which could bear the shock of an expansion of demand. Moreover, these same factors have made the humanities timid of innovation, too frequently content to deplore society's rejection and lacking reconstructive vitality for the performance of greatly expanded functions in the new world. Obviously the individual institution can make at best only a modest contribution towards the cure of these ailments. In addition, the new humanists must have a vast new armament of tools of study, teaching, and research, similar to those which it has taken centuries to develop for the older humanities, but they cannot wait centuries for them. Both the new personnel and the new tools must be produced in educational institutions not yet conditioned either in attitudes or in facilities for their production. All of these factors make necessary a national program, informed and integrated towards definite national ends, and not merely desultory financial assistance to individual institutions.

It might be contended that there is a lack of realism in advocating the creation of an expanded structure of personnel and implementation in a field like the modern humanities when there is yet no obvious "demand" for such a structure on the part of our society as reflected in employment opportunity.

On this point there are several observations to be made. In the first place, the problem is only in minor part one of creating a body of professional concern in the humanities, of Americans who derive their livelihood from the teaching or practice of humanistic studies. It is rather a question of rehabilitating the modern humanities throughout the whole of our education. Perhaps some form of totalitarian state can function adequately with an educational establishment which turns out nothing but generation after generation of semiliterate technicians competent to perform only the tasks assigned to them through their limited citizenship; but a democratic society cannot. Citizenship in any democracy implies a humanistic tradition, conscious of human strengths and weaknesses, solicitous of human dignity, tolerant of human differences; citizenship in a world democracy such as that of which we dream demands these virtues on a world scale as well as the broad knowledge of diverse peoples which the new modern humanities prescribe. These qualities are not indoctrinated, they are not acquired as one acquires manipulatory proficiency through training: they come about as subtle changes in the outlook of the individual as he participates in humanistic experience. We do not by any means hold that one participates in this humanistic experience only in a formal educational activity, but we do hold that the provision of this experience--not training in vocational proficiency in any technique no matter how complex or abstruse--must be the principal end of the higher educational establishment if we are to have a democratic society. This challenge is before education at this present moment; no extension or refinement of technical skills is sufficient education for democratic citizenship unless it is impregnated with the attitudes and the tenor of the modern humanities. Formal education must cast itself into this pattern; it has no other choice. Educational administrators have the problem on their desks; there is no way of avoiding it.

The considerations so far recited indicate the need for a major national program to rejuvenate humanistic scholarship and study, rehabilitate it in our educational system, and make it effective in our national society and in our international relations. Such a program must concern itself with:

1. Personnel: the recruitment, training, development, and utilization of a new body of teachers and educational leaders committed to humanities suitable to the second half of the twentieth century;

2. Implementation: the provision of the tools of study, teaching, and research which this new personnel will need in order to perform its functions most effectively;

3. Communication: the diffusion of humanistic knowledge in such a way as to make it most effective in our society;

4. Research: the constant accretion to our humanistic knowledge.

It is obvious that these are not separable units; each impinges on and interpenetrates the others. Of them, the program in personnel is the largest and most important, though it would be relatively ineffective if it were carried on by itself. A decade of operation of a program of this character would raise our educational system to new heights and provide it with a content commensurate with the new educational structure which advances in techniques of communication will make possible to us a couple of decades from now.

At first sight, it would seem that the problem of the educational administrator is made much more difficult by the prospect of the great expansion of our higher educational establishment which now lies before us. As is now well known, every prediction and extrapolation from present conditions and trends warns that our college population will almost double by the 1970's. True, some newly discovered substitute for the college experience or some change in standards, or a major disaster such as another war, might establish new trends, but none of these contingencies seem at present sufficiently imminent to encourage our planning for them. Any educator, consequently, might well feel that, if to the need of doubling in size the personnel and facilities of his institution be added the requirement that the scope and character of the curriculum be transformed, he is faced with an insoluble problem. But it might be wiser to turn the matter around: since the expansion must take place in any case, why is it not simplest to channel the largest part of the expansion into the region in which education is now most conspicuously lacking--the modern humanities? Under this conception the need for expansion becomes an opportunity rather than a threat.

To these two considerations should be added a third. Within our society at present there is an extravagant "demand" for technicians which our education is trying to supply. There is also too great a tendency to discuss this "demand" as though it were a natural phenomenon and not what it really is, a man-made and socially determined factor. It stems directly, of course, from a decision taken by our society to have in being an armed force of between three and four million men and a hundred twenty air groups, numbers which have no natural validity of their own but derive from conscious operations of a few human minds. This decision, in turn, depends upon the acceptance of a limited interpretation of the character and dimensions of the needs of our national security. So long as this interpretation persists, and only so long, will this "demand" exist in its present form. A more realistic interpretation of the needs of our national security will change the character of the "demand" overnight; and this new interpretation cannot be much longer delayed if the United States is to remain a world power. Education must not tie itself to

"demands" of this character which are likely so soon to be outmoded. If education has any function at all it must be to be ahead of its society; there is no purpose in educating a generation for life in an age already past. Of course, the age before us will require technicians, probably more numerous than any age has ever required before, but it will need even more both specialists and a public opinion trained to face the major problems of the age. These problems will not be principally technological; they will be overwhelmingly humanistic. Let us hope that we shall not be unprepared for them by an antiquated education.

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Literature in Present-Day Spain

By William J. Grupp, University of Notre Dame

I think it is fair to say that, of the literatures of Europe, Spanish literature is, in so far as the general reading public is concerned, one of the least familiar. As a general rule Spanish literature is an unknown quantity and few are aware that there is a problem awaiting solution. By some strange, fantastic, unexplained quirk of fate, Spain has produced only one literary figure. Is there anyone besides Cervantes in Spanish literature? And if Spanish literature in general is unknown or misunderstood, what can we say of the literature of the contemporary period? What is its fate? Is there a contemporary Spanish literature?

In this regard there is a decided difference of opinion, a difference which unfortunately is based more on political considerations than on literary ones. In the Autumn, 1945, issue of Books Abroad there appeared an interesting article by Homero Seris entitled "The Spanish Generation of 1936," an attempt to establish the existence of a new literary school, or generation, in Spanish literature. However, there results a very curious phenomenon: this new generation exists wholly outside of Spain, cut off from the nation it presumably represents. The article implies that literary activity in Spain itself, at least as of 1945, is dead, having been stifled by the Franco regime; the only worthwhile Spanish literature is represented by activity outside of Spain, carried on by a group of writers politically at odds with the government presently in power.

Certainly the fourth decade of this century witnessed a tremendous upheaval not only in the political life of Spain, but also in its intellectual life. And it is to be expected that new forces should begin to stir in the country's literature during this period. It is, however, a dangerous oversimplification of facts to say that all literary activity, even though qualified by the adjective "worthwhile," died within Spain itself as of that time. A large group of writers did leave the country to seek haven abroad. However, a second group chose to remain in Spain. In general, the former group was made up of men who were prominent in the literary world of their day, men with established reputations who apparently shared the same political convictions. It seems evident that these men continued their artistic mission in much the same vein; there is no great break in the continuity of their artistic ideals and aims.

On the other hand, the literary production of those who stayed behind shows a marked contrast with the literature of the years immediately preceding the Civil War. To make this statement seems to belie the evidence as presented by some writers and apparently generally accepted, that there was no literary production in Spain over these years. The fact is that writers and thinkers have been active in Spain over the past fifteen years.

In most cases this literary production has taken a direction counter to that of the period immediately preceding the Civil War. So, if we must set up a new generation, does it not seem reasonable not only to include Spain, but also to say that the new generation may perhaps be more active in Spain than outside of Spain?

Another article in which we can see the same pattern emerge is one by Robert G. Mead, "Dictatorship and Literature in the Spanish World," which appeared in Books Abroad, Summer, 1951. His thesis seems to be that Spanish literature, the literature of Spain, is dead, stifled by an evil, ignorant government bent on the suppression and destruction of anything and everything artistic. The picture called up by the critic's words is one of a country in a deplorable condition, intellectually bankrupt, with no claim to any sort of intellectual standing.

Perhaps there is an element of truth in the above description. But confusing the issue as presented by the author is the long list of literary works that can be compiled without very much effort. This rather imposing list in itself, even lacking any critical judgment of the entries, seems to indicate at least some intellectual activity.

The Spring, 1953, issue of the same review, an issue devoted to contemporary Spanish literature, carried an article written by Dwight L. Bolinger in answer to a previous article written by Julián Marías defending Spanish literature against Robert Mead's attack. Brushing aside "an array of poets, novelists, dramatists, philologists, and philosophers, proving to the hilt that no government can arrest human activity," Bolinger chides Marías for his lack of attention to the sciences, his inability to name one Spanish scientist of international reputation.

In another article of this same issue of Books Abroad, Arturo Barea surveys "A Quarter Century of Spanish Writing." But again Spain's literature since the Civil War fares rather badly, for, in an article covering some twelve pages and dealing with a period of twenty-five years, exactly one-half page is devoted to citing the various social, political, and economic ills that plague Spain today, and from which, although the author neglects to mention it, Spain has suffered rather chronically in the past. Only one young Spanish author is mentioned, Camilo José Cela, "the only important novelist so far produced by the post-Civil War generation in the country."

These references should serve to illustrate the pattern that has been established in criticism of Spanish literature. Two types of articles are evident: in one, there is nothing worth mentioning; in the other, political convictions overwhelm any literary objectives the author might have. In this strange period of ours, there has not yet been written a penetrating, objective appraisal of Spanish literature which does not begin with the assumption that there is nothing, or at best very little, worthy of note in present-day Spanish literature.

This, then, is the problem I wish to propose today, with the hope that its solution will be worked out by capable Spanish scholars: Is there a contemporary Spanish literature which merits our interest and study?

To embark on a program of research in this field is no easy task. The Civil War in Spain not only produced the crisis which established the beginning of a new generation, but also stifled literary activity within the country for a number of years and very effectively cut Spain off from the rest of the world. Spain was the football for international politics rather than the subject of serious critical research in the field of literature. World War II was no less effective in its isolation of Spain from the rest of the world, an isolation that persisted after the war, when Spain was again tossed into the field to reassume its role in international politics. Added to these rather obvious factors is the very shaky economy of the nation, with its industrial potential and its communications systems shattered by one war and their repair hindered by a second. The things that we take most for granted, the most commonplace items, were, and are scarce priority articles. Most important for us, the paper necessary for the printing of books was rigidly rationed for years. To these very real factors, making the publication of books a very questionable risk, must be added the psychological atmosphere of Spain, an atmosphere that could hardly have been a suitable one for a great literary revival. But these are problems which have been met and to a surprising degree overcome, and they are the problems we should keep in mind when judging the present literary scene in Spain.

There are many sources to which we may turn to ascertain whether there is any activity in contemporary Spanish letters. If our task is only bibliographical there are several current lists which yield much information, although little of it is of a critical nature, such as Bibliografía Hispánica and Biblioteca Hispana. The Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, which publishes the last mentioned review, has an imposing list of journals published under its auspices, covering an extensive array of subjects. Among these are the very excellent Cuadernos de Literatura, succeeded by the Revista de Literatura, with a short section devoted to reviews of books currently appearing. The review Arbor presents articles of a more general nature written by internationally recognized authorities. Clavileño is a sophisticated, "slick" review, published in Madrid by the Asociación Internacional de Hispanismo; it dwells on cultural matters and therefore has perhaps a more limited appeal. The Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales directs the monthly publication of the Índice Cultural Español, distributed through diplomatic channels and containing a wealth of details which might otherwise be overlooked. These are but a few of the many excellent sources of information on the contemporary scene in Spanish letters.

The person who sets himself the task of investigating this material will soon become aware of a surprising amount of

intellectual activity in present-day Spain, surprising because of its marked contrast to current concepts of Spanish life. What is the nature of this activity? Perhaps one of the outstanding aspects of contemporary literature in Spain is its variety. Practically every legitimate field of knowledge known to man is being investigated and, in the cases which I am able to judge, the work is being done well. The tempo of historical investigation and production is ever increasing, resulting in a large number of works on different periods and individual biographies.

Translations into Spanish from other languages offer another interesting field for our investigation. Over the past few years these translations have been appearing in large numbers. Some light might be cast on what is happening in Spanish letters if we can find answers to questions like these: Who are the authors who are being translated? What types of books are being translated? What popularity do these translations enjoy? In this connection it might be interesting to glance at the best-sellers in Spain during October of 1953. My source, the Bibliografía Hispánica of last December, lists the ten most popular Spanish works and the ten most popular foreign works.* Heading the list of Spanish best-sellers is José María Gironella's very popular prize-winning novel, Los cipreses creen en Dios, dealing with the years of the Republic, 1931-1936; this is followed in second place by Camilo José Cela's Mrs. Caldwell habla con su hijo. Giovanni Guareschi's novel Don Camilo heads the list of foreign best sellers, while popular writers such as Thomas Costain, Frances Parkinson Keyes, Vicki Baum, and Daphne de Maurier are listed in sixth, seventh, ninth, and tenth places respectively.

It is perhaps in the novel that we can see most clearly and readily what is happening in literature. Scholarly treatises, the results of painstaking scientific research, are never expected to reflect anything more than the limited interests of their writers. Poetry has a very limited audience, even in a country that is noted for its long poetic tradition. The theatre, by the very nature of its limitations, cannot be considered truly representative of the literary requirements of a nation. So, let us turn to the novel and through it attempt to draw some conclusions about Spanish letters.

Jacob Ornstein and James Y. Causey, in an article on Camilo José Cela appearing in Books Abroad, Summer, 1953, write as follows: "Cela, like the other members of his generation in Spain, has reacted violently against the 'dehumanizing' tendency so pronounced in the post-World War I novelists.... Seeking a foothold in traditional Spanish realism, these new novelists eschew intellectualized figures and abstractions, preferring to focus their attention on flesh-and-blood characters and the realities of the world that surrounds them...." No further

* These lists have been appended to this article

comment is needed in regard to this true and clearly stated fact. A further observation may be made that today's novelists in Spain are extremely interested in and concerned for man moving against a specific social background. The man is important, but so is the social background, not for the man's reaction to it, but for its influence on the individual. Most of Spain's young novelists are humanists, not in the classical definition of the term, certainly, but in the tradition of Spanish humanism. In an article written for the Correo Literario in 1951, entitled "La novela española de hoy," Gonzalo Santa María points to two emerging patterns in the new Spanish novel: one, the metaphysical novel, of which Carmen Laforet's Nada is an example; two, the humanist novel, in which the social background shares the spotlight with the novel's hero, as shown in Ignacio Agustí's novels Mariona Rebull and El viudo Rius, to which we might add as an outstanding example Cecilio Benítez de Castro's Cuando los ángeles duermen.

There is a certain brooding atmosphere that runs through Spain's literature; the novels that are being produced do not treat life lightly. This is not to say that there is a drab sameness, for each author picks his own theme and develops it in his fashion. There is an almost confusing lack of an overall pattern in the novelistic production of Spain, pointed out by Torrente Ballester in 1949 in Literatura española contemporánea (Madrid, 1949). There is even a lack of pattern in the total work of some of the individual authors: for instance, in Pabellón de reposo Cela has published a touching and penetrating study of life and romance in the ever-present shadow of Death in a hospital for tubercular patients. This novel appeared within a year of the publication date of the grim and rather shocking stylistic triumph, the super-picaresque novel, La familia de Pascual Duarte.

In the epilogue of Literatura española contemporánea, seeking to make some appraisal of the new literature Torrente Ballester makes two or three points that are of interest. First, he laments the absence of the "snob" from the Spanish literary scene, the "snob" who will applaud extravagance as well as originality; the author feels that Spanish literature is in need of some extravagances. Second, he reproaches Spanish literature for its solemn seriousness, its lack of restlessness, and he closes with these words: "Los jóvenes españoles del momento parecen haber olvidado que son los hijos de una revolución y que lo que el más ilustre de nuestros muertos aconsejó para la vida pública vale del mismo modo para la cultura...." Jacob Ornstein and James Y. Causey in their article "Novels and Novelists in Present-Day Spain," which appeared in Books Abroad, Summer, 1950, write: "Clearly the Spanish novelists of today are in need of new and fresh themes. It is to be hoped that the future will see a move away from this condition of literary insularity." Robert G. Mead, in the article quoted earlier, says that Spanish writers "maintain a studied aloofness from politics and other controversial subjects."

Assuming that these charges are true, I feel that they are far outweighed by the interest and enjoyment with which I have read so many contemporary Spanish novels. But, to make a more valid statement, it is my feeling that Spain's writers have been gainfully employed in seeking to analyze their position in the modern world, attempting to reconstruct the immediate past in an effort to answer the rather vital question: What happened to us? The solemn gravity of their works is in direct proportion to the seriousness of events in recent history, the gravity of Spain's modern position. They have been going through a period of reaction and introspection and self-examination, hoping to make the Spain of today more meaningful by reevaluating the violence that has characterized Spain for so many of these twentieth-century years.

There are many signs that the novitiate is drawing to a close. The novels that are presently being published indicate a change, a development that should be an answer to the charges of the critics mentioned above. I should like to quote Gerald Brenan who, writing for the New York Times Book Review of October 11, 1953, describes a book fair held in Madrid during the Summer of 1953: "Of the 150,000 volumes exhibited at the fair, 3,500 titles were published in Spain during the past year--a remarkable number for a country ridden by poverty and illiteracy. The standard of printing and book production is generally high, and the tendency to replace soft covers by hard is growing fast. Unfortunately this increases the price, and many Spaniards can afford to buy a book only by missing a meal....The...fair was impressive because it offered the best proof possible that what counts in this country is literature and, in literature, poetry...."

This paper is not intended to be a definitive or exhaustive study of the subject. There are other articles than these to which reference has been made which have been neglected, partly through intent, partly through ignorance. However, this purports to be a fair appraisal of the situation as of this date, April, 1954, and I propose that it is time to brush aside the many prejudices which have bound us and proceed to an honest and objective examination of the facts in Spain's case.

A paper presented at the

Seventh University of Kentucky
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* Bibliografía Hispánica, XII, Diciembre, 1953.

Spanish Bestsellers:

1. Los cipreses creen en Dios: José María Gironella
2. Mrs. Caldwell habla con su hijo: Camilo José Cela
3. La voluntad de vivir: Blasco Ibáñez
4. La otra vida del Capitán Contreras: Luca de Tena
5. El país vasco: Pío Baroja
6. Mi idolatrado hijo Sisi: Miguel Delibes
7. Nosotros, los Rivero: Dolores Medio (Premio Nadal, 1952)
8. Manuales de jardinería: Noel Clarasó
9. La espera: Pedro Alvarez
10. El hospital de San Lázaro: Pedro Alvarez

Foreign Bestsellers:

1. Don Camilo: Giovanni Guareschi
2. El futuro ha comenzado: H. Jungk
3. El Mundo y Occidente: Arnold Toynbee
4. Moscú: T. Plivier
5. Los santos van al infierno: G. Cesbron
6. El cáliz de plata: Thomas Costain
7. El palacio flotante: Frances Parkinson Keyes
8. Recuerdos de un sábado: Genl. Guderian
9. Retorno al amanecer: Vicki Baum
10. Mi prima Raquel: Daphne du Maurier

A Note on King Alfonso's Use of Popular Themes in His CANTIGAS

by John E. Keller, University of North Carolina

For the most part studies concerning the works of King Alfonso, called El Sabio, have dealt with such great compendia of knowledge as the histories, the legal treatises, and the translations of scientific works from the Arabic. Indeed, his codex of laws, Las Siete Partidas, had no peer in the Middle Ages; no history of the entire period in any country or in any language can approach the volume of his Estoria de España and General Estoria, and such works as the Alfonsine Tables, the Liber Picatrix, and Los libros del saber de astronomia had great influence upon medieval writing and deserve all the attention they have received.

Alfonso's Cantigas de Santa María have likewise been the subject of a good deal of study. However, these poems, believed to be original compositions by the Learned King, in certain of their aspects at least, need further investigation. The present study, although brief, will attempt to shed some light upon this king's interest in popular and folkloristic themes, thus opening the way for more detailed and definitive investigation into this area of research.

By way of orientation it might be well to present some brief account of the Cantigas and of their importance. There are over 400 of these poems set to music,¹ written to do honor to the Holy Virgin through the medium of presenting miracles performed by her. No richer repository of medieval thematology is available. Written not in Castilian but in Galician-Portuguese, the language considered by thirteenth-century educated Spaniards to be the most musical and the one best suited to lyric poetry, these songs preserve most of the well-known themes associated with the Virgin. Moreover, they have saved from oblivion a great many stories not current in other medieval works and have permitted us to see a great deal of Spanish custom and life that otherwise might have perished. Four manuscripts survive,² and although no single one of these contains all 402 of the cantigas, the only edition of the poems presents them in their entirety.³

The sources drawn upon by Alfonso have long held the interest of scholars. In his edition of the Cantigas the Marqués de Valmar attempted to give a kind of classification of sources. "Tan vario como su origen," he wrote, "es el carácter de los asuntos de estos cantares. Podrían clasificarse sintéticamente en tradicionales, históricos, fantásticos, íntimos y familiares."⁴ Such a classification can be used in a general way, but it is obviously not adequate for detailed study, and until scientific classifications not only of source materials but also of individual motifs have been completed⁵ there can be nothing like a thorough examination of this vast storehouse of medieval thematology.

Apparently King Alfonso put his heart into the composition of the Cantigas. In his efforts to celebrate the miracles of the Virgin he must have perused a good many of the great collections of Mary-miracles that in his day were so esteemed and numerous.⁷ He called himself the Virgin's troubadour:

Esta Dona que tenno por Sennor
et de que quero seer trobador (10).⁸

His enthusiasm was great, for he took pains to include an extremely varied selection, and from the great collections, written usually in Latin, he drew over 150 stories, among them some of the most interesting and popular to be found. Then, having borrowed what he considered the most valuable accounts, he turned to other sources. Perhaps he felt that he had exhausted the standard collections or that tales with a more personal, a more Spanish touch would have greater appeal in Spain than the pan-European themes. Some have suggested that he hoped to popularize the shrines of Spain⁹ and therefore composed songs about the miracles performed at native shrines. Be that as it may, Alfonso inserted into the Cantigas a number of songs whose themes are original, and his interest in these Spanish miracles increased as attested by the fact that after the first one hundred cantigas, of which over half stem from standard collections, the number of non-standard miracles increases, greatly outnumbering the borrowed themes.

These miracles of native Spanish vintage fall roughly into three groups: (1) miracles that occur at various Spanish shrines of the Virgin; (2) miracles performed for the benefit of Alfonso himself, for members of his family, or for people connected with his court; (3) miracles that seem to stem from sources purely popular, from folktales, legends, etc., of Spain. That these three divisions overlap from time to time cannot be denied, but for the purposes of the present study they can be accepted without prejudice.

The subject matter of the miracles derived from popular sources is far from elevated or sophisticated. It reveals that costumbrismo had a strong appeal even to the erudites of the Castilian court, and that the popularity of things Spanish was great. The people in the miracles that take place in Spain and Portugal quite frequently belong to the lower classes, and jongleurs, farmers, bandits, Jews, and peasant children, as they play their roles in the Cantigas, present a vivid and fascinating picture of thirteenth-century Spanish life. Alfonso's interest in folklore and custom is significant, for it shows that at the Spanish court the educated man of the times did not scorn things definitely removed from the world of culture and education. That the Cantigas were composed for erudite consumption cannot be questioned, since the entire work is written in Galician, a foreign tongue, cultivated in Spain only by men of letters.

The most effective and direct approach to the cantigas of popular origin can perhaps be made by a brief presentation of the content of several of them. Cantiga 141, which insofar as I have been able to verify has no parallel in the standard collections, contains the motif of youth regained, a theme common in folklore and current in Spain. In this cantiga the king tells the story of the rejuvenation of an aged monk through the intercession of the Virgin. The old man, grown feeble, must be supported by two of the younger brethren whose task it is to lead him about the monastery. One day they find it necessary to leave him for a time, and while they are absent the old man falls and is unable to rise. He prays to the Virgin who appears and guides him to her altar where she changes him into a man of twenty years. No one recognizes him, and the Virgin is obliged to explain his identity to the abbot. There is no fountain of youth here, as in the folktale, but the end result of the miracle is the same as that of the folkloristic theme so popular and widespread. Unless Alfonso borrowed this tale from some collection of miracles not identified, there is strong reason to believe he was employing a folk theme known to his audience, one that had long been a part of their tradition.

In Cantiga 107 we read of an event that occurred in the realm when Alfonso was a youth of sixteen. Popular belief existed to the effect that a miracle was performed at this time in Segovia, and so quickly did it catch the mind of the people that we may compare its spread with that of the death of Floyd Collins in our own times. By the time Alfonso made it a part of his Cantigas and dignified it with royal treatment it must have had currency the length and breadth of Christian Spain, for the name bestowed upon the Jewess had already become a part of folklore. To this day, both in Spain and in Spanish America, the name of Marisaltos lives on. In brief this is the tale: a Jewess accused of heresy by her people is condemned to be cast down to her death from a cliff. As she falls she prays to the Virgin, convinced that her faith will save her. The Jewess reaches the ground unharmed, hastens to the cathedral of Segovia for baptism,¹⁰ and thereafter leads a most pious Christian life.

Just how many of the miracles associated with Spanish shrines are traditional, born of the Spanish folk, and how many are deliberately fabricated by the author, we may never know. Certainly a good many of these themes must have been popular, for in the thirteenth century, just as occurs today, nearly every shrine had traditions of miracles wrought within its confines. But since it is always difficult to speak with certainty as to the popular origin of themes, we can only opine that certain of the miracles were drawn from the folk. Take for example Cantiga 258. This is the motif of bread replenished, and is one of the more widespread of the folk themes and one found in the exempla collections of the Middle Ages.¹¹ The story has not as yet been traced to the standard collections of miracles attributed to the Virgin, but Alfonso could have gleaned it from some repository of exempla or could have drawn

it from popular lore. According to the account in the cantiga, there was a woman so generous that she gave away all her flour to beggars. When her child asked for bread, she had to tell him that she had given it all away; but when she opened the bin to show that it was empty, she found it filled with flour. Apparently Alfonso was attracted by this miracle, for he used it in slightly different form in Cantigas 203 and 335.

Some of the cantigas seem to parallel motifs found in pious tales, saints' legends and even Scripture; but whether the Learned King followed erudite sources or dipped into popular ones it is difficult to state, for numerous Biblical tales had been assimilated by the folk and had actually become part of Spanish folklore. Cantiga 241 offers a good example of this problem. This is the story of a bridegroom who leaned too far from the window of an upper story and fell. Even when he was taken up broken and dying, his mother refused to be perturbed, for she had faith that the Virgin would save her son. After she had prayed to the Virgin, her son was restored to health. Now this is a close parallel to the story of Eutychus (Acts 20:9-12) who likewise fell from an upper story and who was brought back from death by St. Paul. Alfonso's version may well have been a re-working of the story of Eutychus, but just as possibly it may have been a tale that had been circulated by the folk for generations.

If one could choose from the entire volume of the Cantigas two miracles that most aptly represent popular backgrounds, perhaps Cantigas 18 and 128 would be the best choice. The former is Spanish in locale and does not belong to any of the standard collections. Alfonso tells us in this cantiga that in Extremadura a wondrous miracle was performed. A woman who kept silkworms noticed that they were sickening and that the production of silk was diminishing. She made a vow to the Virgin that if she would heal the worms, a new garment would be presented to the Madonna in the cathedral. The worms were cured, but the woman, busy with her industry, forgot the promise. One day during a feast of the church the woman visited the cathedral and was reminded that she had not given the statue the promised mantle. Hastening home filled with remorse and the zeal to comply with the vow, she arrived to find that the garment was in the making and nearly completed. The worms of their own volition had been weaving it. The woman called her neighbors and the entire city flocked to her garden to watch the completion of the Virgin's mantle. The king tells us that he had seen the garment and that he gave orders to have it taken out of the church from time to time and shown to heretics and those of waning faith.

Number 128 relates the miraculous accomplishment of a hive of bees. A villager wanted to come into the possession of a large supply of honey and wax, and on the advice of a sorceress stole a consecrated wafer from communion and carried it out of the church in his mouth. Under her orders he placed the wafer

in a beehive and awaited results. When he opened the hive, he found to his consternation a marvelous image of the Virgin and the Child Jesus molded in wax by the bees. The man confessed his sin, and the image was set up in the church.

Other miracles could be mentioned: of how the Virgin stopped an eruption of Mount Etna in Sicily; of how she cooled the anger of two rival jongleurs and presented them with candles whose light had the virtue of healing the sick; of how she relieved a Jewess in childbirth; and of how a treacherous wife through a miracle was unable to remove her shoes in order to put on those sent her by her paramour. Space here will not permit further relation, but many other examples abound. A careful and complete study of the Cantigas de Santa María would certainly strengthen the thesis, namely, that the Learned King knew the value of traditional themes and gave such themes a generous representation in his songs.

Notes

1. Julián Ribera, La Música de las Cantigas (Madrid, 1922).
2. These manuscripts are: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional MS. 10069, generally referred to as the manuscript of Toledo (Tol.); El Escorial, MSS. T.i.I (EI) and B.i.2 (E2); Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS. Banco Rari 20 (formerly II.1 213) (F). Prof. Evelyn S. Proctor, Alfonso X of Castile (Oxford, 1951), pp. 24-27, gives a good description and treatment of these manuscripts.
3. Marqués de Valmar, ed. Cantigas de Santa María (Madrid, 1889).
4. Marqués de Valmar, p. 63.
5. The author of this article is at present engaged in the preparation of a Motif-Index of the Cantigas of Alfonso el Sabio, made in accordance with the rules set up by Stith Thompson for his Motif-Index of Folk-Literature. 6 vols. FF Communications Nos. 106-109, 116, 117. Helsinki, 1932-36 (Also Indiana University Studies Nos. 96-97, 100, 101, 105-106, 108-110, 111-112. Bloomington, Indiana, 1932-36).
6. For one such classification see F. Callcott, The Supernatural in Early Spanish Literature (New York, 1923). See also A. F. G. Bell, "The Cantigas of Santa María of Alfonso X," M. L. R., X (1915), 338-48. Both of these classifications are according to subject matter.

7. There are far too many of these standard collections for mention here. The Marqués de Valmar in his edition of the Cantigas presents a long listing of sources, and this is the most adequate listing available.
8. The number (10) is from the Valmar edition.
9. Proctor, p. 29, treats this matter of the popularization of the shrines.
10. José Guerrero Lovillo, Las Cántigas, estudio arqueológico de sus miniaturas (Madrid, 1949), presents the miniatures photographed in black and white. Number CVII on Lámina 119 presents pictorially the story of Marisaltos. There are six panels in this miniature in which we see the Jewess confronted by her people, led to the cliff, cast down from it, arising unharmed from the ground, proclaiming her faith, and seated in the font receiving baptism.
11. Climente Sánchez de Valderas included it in his Libro de los enxienplos por a.b.c. as numbers 75 and 76.

Vergil for a Fourth Century Roman Schoolboy

by Arthur Frederick Stocker, University of Virginia

The works of Vergil encountered almost immediately upon publication the fate that befalls most "classics": people began to deliver lectures and to write books about them. Such popularity did they achieve that there were those who felt, by way of reaction, the urge to climb into the seat of the scornful. There were ill-natured folk like Bavius and Mevius, whom Horace so cordially detested; there was a certain Numitorius, whose Antibucolica parodied with heavy hand the first and third Eclogues; there was Carvilius Pictor, of the Aeneidomastix; and there were collections of the "blemishes" of Vergil (his vitia) and of his "plagiarisms" (furta). Servius preserves a specimen of this unfriendly and sometimes adolescent criticism in his note on Vergil's admonition in the first book of the Georgics: NVDVS ARA, SERE NVDVS ("dress lightly to plough, dress lightly to sow"). Vergil is talking about the time of year in which ploughing and sowing are appropriate, as is quite plain from the context, and Servius' comment is gratuitous: adeo sereno caelo, ut amictum possis contemnere ("when the weather is so clear that you need not depend upon heavy clothing"). Sane quidam, Servius adds, post hoc hemistichium dicitur subsecutus 'habebis frigore febres' ("and you will get fevers from the chill!"). The jaundiced or irreverent point of view had sufficient currency so that Asconius Pedianus, the commentator on Cicero, wrote, we are told, a specific Liber contra Obtrectatores Vergillii.

In the main, however, a combination of the poems' unquestionable literary merits and imperial favor secured for Vergil a reception which was respectful, if not worshipful. During his lifetime he enjoyed such renown that, when he visited Rome, he had to duck into houses to avoid the throngs of the curious who would follow him and point him out to others. After his death, when presumably the jealousy which had motivated some of his critics subsided and the literary movements with which he had been associated gained the ascendancy, his works almost immediately attained the distinction of becoming school books. It is recorded that Vergil was introduced into the schools by Quintus Caecilius, the Epirote, a freedman of Cicero's friend, Atticus, who, having fallen upon evil days, opened a school at Rome some time after 26 B. C. and is said by Suetonius to have been the first to use Vergil and other contemporary poets in his instruction. That the study of Vergil was not confined to the "lower grades," however, is made clear by Quintilian, who observes that lectio quite properly begins with Homer and Vergil, despite the fact that maturity is required for the full appreciation of their virtues; sed huic rei superest tempus, neque enim semel legentur ("but there is time enough for this, for they will not be read only once").

In the schools, the text of Vergil became the starting-point for not a few educational extravagances. As an exercise in prose composition, boys were required to retell the stories of the Aeneid in prose; the young St. Augustine had to do this. Or, as an exercise in versification, they might be required to rewrite them in some other metre. The grammarians cited Vergil so freely that, if his works were otherwise entirely lost, a good start toward reconstructing them could be made from this source alone. The rhetores lagged little, if any, behind the grammatici in their use of Vergil. The Aeneid served as a reservoir of themes for controversiae and suasoriae--as, for example, a speech written for Dido on the departure of Aeneas. Tiberius Claudius Donatus seriously maintains that it is the rhetoricians to whom most properly the study of Vergil belongs, and Macrobius declares that Vergil merits top ranking as an orator no less than as a poet. The early empire being (in contrast with the present) an enlightened period, when memory work was highly esteemed in the educational process, the lines of Vergil were etched deeply in the consciousness of every literate man. Later poets (especially, of course, the epic poets) borrowed extensively from Vergilian diction, and even the vocabulary of prose was strikingly tinged with it.

Much of the school work that had its starting point in Vergil was undoubtedly sterile, but the poems also were studied as monuments of literature in themselves. Indeed, it was the general recognition that they belonged in this category which led to their use in the more mechanical ways which have just been described. The genuinely philological activity which centered around Vergil took two major forms: there were critical editions of the poems in the interest of establishing a sound text; and there were inquiries into individual aspects of Vergil's art, such as his diction or his representation of Roman antiquities. The two, then, were from time to time combined in full-scale commentaries.

Vergil himself published the Bucolics and the Georgics, but the Aeneid appeared posthumously under the "editorship" of literary executors (Varius and Tucca) appointed by Augustus, with license to suppress anything unfinished or imperfect that they found among Vergil's papers but to add nothing. Deterioration of the text set in at once. The mechanics of publication in classical times were such that no two copies of the same work could be entirely uniform, and an increment of error was of course inevitable whenever additional copies were made. Cicero, in one of his letters, complains quite bitterly on the score of how mendose the Latin books of his time were written and circulated. To corruptions introduced unconsciously into the author's text through purely mechanical lapses on the part of librarii were added others deriving from readers, such as glosses which might supplant the correct reading in the text and false emendations of what some reader might not be able to understand. The more widely an author was read and

studied, the more vulnerable his text became to perversions of both kinds. Although a poet, writing in a clearly understood metre like the dactylic hexameter, had some advantage over writers of prose, Vergil labored under his own special difficulties. The use of his works in the schools and the intensive study to which they were subjected raised questions of exegesis, of punctuation, and of verbal consistency which might never have suggested themselves to the ordinary reader. The solutions which were proposed, interlinearly or marginally, had a way of intruding themselves into the textus receptus and diluting the pure milk of the word. Moreover, the Aeneid, especially, because of the fact that it was published posthumously without the author's final revision, became the sport of dilettante scholars whose pleasure it was to supply what they thought Vergil would have written if he had completed his work, to correct what they thought he would have corrected, and in some cases to supply what they suspected that his literary executors, Varius and Tucca, might have excised. People like this inspired Quintilian's remark: Quae in veteribus libris reperta mutare imperiti solent et, dum librariorum insectari volunt inscientiam, suam confitentur ("The untrained are accustomed to emend what they find in ancient books, and, while they aspire to unmask the ignorance of copyists, they confess their own").

To combat subversive tendencies such as these it was essential that from time to time scholarly editions, or "recensions," should be produced, and for Vergil an important one was made toward the end of the first century, A. D., by Marcus Valerius Probus. From the traces of his work which survive it seems that he appealed to the best manuscripts; in the Georgics he is said to have used a text that had been corrected by Vergil himself. Modern editors accept some of the readings of Probus against the unanimous testimony of the extant manuscripts. The activity of an ancient editor such as Probus is covered largely by the Latin words emendare, distinguere, and adnotare. Emendare meant to purge the text of flaws, or menda, and get back to what Vergil himself had written. Distinguere meant to punctuate. Adnotare meant to affix the diacritical signs which were an important part of the apparatus of Alexandrine scholarship. One was an asterisk followed by a dash, signifying that the editor regarded the line as erroneously repeated from another place. Another was the alogus, calling attention to a questionable syntactical construction.

Vergilian exegesis, as opposed to textual criticism, began at an early date. Perhaps the earliest of the commentators was Gaius Julius Hyginus, the freedman and librarian of Augustus; later came Julius Modestus, Lucius Annaeus Cornutus (the teacher of Lucan and Persius), and in later times Aemilius Asper, Velius Longus, and Quintus Terentius Scavus. For better or for worse, most of the products of this early Vergilian scholarship soon vanished from view, except as it became embedded in

later writings. However, we may perhaps believe that the cream was skimmed off and preserved in the work of two scholars of late Roman antiquity: Aelius Donatus, the teacher of St. Jerome and author (in one way or another) of the extant commentary on Terence, whose floruit may be placed in the middle of the fourth century; and Servius, who taught and wrote about half a century later.

Donatus' commentary on Vergil is almost entirely lost, although there is reason to believe that it survived into Carolingian times. We can infer something about its character from the dedicatory epistle, which is extant and may be found in Brummer's 1912 edition of the Vitae Vergilianae:

Aelius Donatus to Lucius Munatius, Greetings:-

I have examined the writings of almost all the scholars before me who were well versed in the works of Vergil, but in my earnest desire for brevity, of which I know you to be fond, I have selected from the many matters only a few, preferring to incur the reader's righteous indignation for knowingly passing over numerous of the ancients' remarks rather than annoy him by filling my page with superfluities. You can listen, then, in this miscellany, to the pure voice of pristine authority. For though I have taken the opportunity here and there to insert my own explanations, I have wished, in fairness to those whose views I have rejected, to add their own words, too. What, then, is the result? By briefly presenting these extracts from many sources, combined with my own interpretations, I can give the reader more pleasure, I believe, than he will derive from longer treatises elsewhere. Further, in selecting the best things from my authorities, I at once secure the interest of the reader by what I select and save him from the tedium of what I have rejected...

The picture that we have is that of a variorum commentary which, in spite of its author's protestations, is unlikely to have been distinguished for its conciseness.

Servius' commentary is extant and well known. It enjoyed wide currency in the Middle Ages and appears in considerably more than a hundred manuscripts of the ninth century and later. It appears, however, in two distinct forms. First, there is that of the majority of the older manuscripts, which we may call the vulgate. It is much the briefer and in some respects the more coherent. It is explicitly ascribed to Servius in most of the manuscripts, and modern criticism recognizes in it a convincing claim to authenticity. Second, there is a much longer form which, because it was first brought to light in the year 1600 by the scholar and bibliophile, Pierre Daniel,

has since borne the name of Servius Danielis, or Servius Auctus. It is found in a comparatively small number of manuscripts, all of early date. In none of these, however, is it directly ascribed either to Servius or to anyone else. Much of the additional material is unique and redolent of antiquity. Specifically, there is a great deal of seemingly authoritative information about the older Roman religion, and there are numerous fragments from obscure ancient authors not otherwise preserved. In Thilo's edition, Servius Danielis is represented by italics, and the vulgate Servius by Roman type.

This is not the place for an elaboration of the relationship between the longer and the shorter Servius. It is perfectly clear, however, that the shorter Servius is not simply an abridgment of the longer. The modern view is that the longer Servius is Servius augmented with material drawn principally from some other single ancient commentary, probably older than Servius' and in some respects more valuable. The late Professor E. K. Rand, of Harvard University, suggested some years ago that the other ancient commentary in question might be that of Aelius Donatus. To be sure, the style of Servius Danielis differs radically from that of Donatus' commentary on Terence, and, if Professor Rand's view is correct, one or the other must have undergone considerable re-working, but within Servius Danielis there can be discerned some of the qualities with which Donatus characterizes his own Vergilian commentary. The Danieline augmentations are variorum in nature, and frequently stop short of a definite conclusion; as in Donatus, a diversity of interpretations may be presented with no attempt to adjudicate between them. Internal cross-references show that the source behind Servius Danielis treated the works of Vergil in the order Bucolics, Georgics, and Aeneid, while Servius himself followed the order Aeneid, Bucolics, Georgics. The former, we know, was the order of Donatus.

Surely Servius Danielis differs notably, both in style and in emphasis, from the vulgate Servius. The notes of Servius himself read like a school man's lectures, delivered to adulescentes; the audience consisted at best of undergraduates, rather than graduate students! Grammar, the origins, meanings, and subtle connotations of words--Vergil's art on the most mechanical level: these were the subjects that engaged most of his attention. From this core he digressed into such fields as philosophy, mythology, geography, natural history, and antiquities, but the information he gives is on the Book of Knowledge level; it is hardly ever abstruse. The authors whom he cites by way of parallel references are the standard ones known to have been read in the schools: among the poets, Terence, Horace, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal, and Persius; among the prose writers, Cicero and Sallust, and of Cicero particularly the Verrine orations. The citations from Ennius, Plautus, and Lucretius may have been borrowed from earlier grammarians, and do not necessarily betoken personal acquaintance with their work on the part of Servius. Servius writes good Latin, Latin that

is uniform and clear, but undistinguished. All this accords well with the picture of Servius given by Macrobius. In the sixth book of the Saturnalia, Furius Albinus, discoursing upon the borrowings of Vergil from earlier Roman writers, upon arriving at the subject of figures of speech, says to the group, "I should now like to have Servius talk about the figures of speech he has found in Vergil that are original, not taken over from the ancients...; cotidie enim Romanae indoli enarrando eundem yatem necesse est habeat huius adnotationis scientiam promptiorem ("for from daily exposition of the same poet before Roman youth he must necessarily possess a readier-than-average knowledge of this subject").

The Danieline material, on the other hand, must originally have been addressed to a much more learned audience. The Latin style is less uniform, ranging from considerable elegance to downright crudity. This, of course, is what one would expect in a variorum commentary, drawn from diverse sources. A schoolmaster, however, would probably have been more careful about his Latin. Indicative also of the maturity of the hearers is the offering of multiple explanations, without the stamp of approval on any one of them; schoolmasters do not offer adulescentes much in the way of choice between conflicting views. Very few of the Danieline notes concern grammar. Those that have to do with the usage of words are often fortified with quotations from "lost" authors, and are on an appreciably higher level than their counterparts in the Servius vulgate. Fables are greatly expanded in Servius Danielis; often forms of the story are related which depart notably from the common tradition. There are many valuable notes aimed at illustrating Vergil's precise knowledge of the details of early Roman history, early Roman institutions, and Roman religion. In notes of this kind, reference is often made in precise terms, by book and title, to Republican writers like Varro.

We are fortunate, then, in having in Servius Danielis and the vulgate Servius clear adumbrations of the type of instruction in Vergil which was given at two different levels in the late Empire. Servius' course is elementary; the course given by the magister whose activity underlies the unidentified (D) commentary, perhaps Donatus, is advanced.

Both Donatus and D exhibit the tendency which became prominent in the mediaeval view of Vergil to look for allegory. From a surviving fragment it appears, for example, that Donatus saw in the order of the works--Bucolics, Georgics, Aeneid--a reflection of the successive stages in human society: the pastoral or nomadic, the agricultural, and finally the politically mature society involving, along with other products of more refined civilization, organized war. Allegorical interpretations of Vergil were favored by the undoubtedly presence in the Bucolics of a good deal of allegory, but still more so, perhaps, by the enormous prestige which his writings enjoyed. Vergil came to be regarded as practically all-knowing, and a

disposition developed to look for hidden meanings in every line. Vergil was much more to the Roman than, let us say, Shakespeare is to us. The Vergilian poems were more like the Bible, and by the time of Hadrian were endowed (in the sortes Vergilianae) even with prophetic power, much as in some circles of our society a man might open his Bible, let his eye fall at random on any verse, and seek in its tenor some guidance in a particular situation with which he might be confronted. The professors were largely to blame for this. Vergil was studied so intensively that there was a strong impetus to over-refinement, which resulted in the placing of many strained interpretations on his verses, often quite certainly foreign to the poet's own thinking. Modern scholarship, however, has been the gainer from this perversion, because the commentators, whose work comes to a focus in Servius and in Servius Danielis, picked up out of ancient lore and grafted upon their criticism of Vergil a great deal of information about antiquities which, irrelevant as it may have been to the proper study of Vergil, is of enormous interest and importance to us, their posterity, and would otherwise have been entirely lost.

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Mumming at the Court of Maximilian I

by Samuel L. Sumberg, City College of New York

Throughout his life, as a schoolboy, lover and soldier, as a burgher among pleasure-seeking burghers, as a patrician lord surrounded by his court, down to his last years, Maximilian was devoted to the pastimes of the dance and the masque. The "last of the knights" was, as Anastasius Grün described him, a "master of hunting and mumming." We know him from Faust II as a lover of the masquerade, but Goethe's Mummenschanz, with its parade of northern and southern carnival figures, the Wild Men as well as the great god Pan, is far more sophisticated and artistic than the simple mummerei of Maximilian's court. For a picture of these mumming we shall have to look into the letters and chronicles, the records of tournaments, royal entries and coronations, and more especially, the great series of illustrated books created at Maximilian's behest, climaxed, so far as mumming is concerned, by the sixty-four miniatures of mummereien in the Freydal.

In his restless life Maximilian reached out beyond the provincialism of the court where he was born to a more cosmopolitan experience, although he himself always remained "the focal point of his orbit." We find him dancing and mumming not at one court but at many courts of the Empire.

The kurzweyl of his childhood, as the Weisskunig shows, included a game of jousting puppets. The tournament had been expanded since the fourteenth century into a theatrical spectacle, often with a mock combat in burlesque attire, a costumed dance, the mummerei, and the distribution of prizes, the so-called Danke. As Maximilian grew up, he could emulate his elders in these pastimes. We know his father, Emperor Frederick III, as a mummer from the story told of his passion as a young man, when, roving about from house to house in a mumming with a company of courtiers, he came upon a door that was not opened to him because he was not recognized. Frederick kicked open the door and injured his foot so badly that years later gangrene set in, resulting in amputation and perhaps causing his death. Aeneas Silvius describes Frederick's entries into the Italian cities with dances and allegorical presentations on land and sea. From his mother, Eleonora of Portugal, the boy could hear stories of the pageantry she had known, stories later incorporated in the Weisskunig, of jousts and festivals and entries, designed with all the characteristic figures--wild men, angels, dragons, elephants--equipped with typical theatrical properties: the pageantic castle made of wood and cloth, the Garden of Paradise, the wheel of Fortune, the fountain of rose water, and other devices.

In 1473, when he was fourteen, Maximilian accompanied his father to the Reichstag at Augsburg, participating in the pageantry of the entry and attending a dance of the patricians;

the next year he enjoyed the same festivities at Cologne. At eighteen he arrived as a bridegroom at the Burgundian court in Ghent, with its rich background of "assemblées, festoïs, bancquetz, danses, momerries," as described in the Mémoires of Olivier de la Marche. His Brautfahrt had included visits to many courts on the way from Frankfurt. He was received with all the pomp of the court, a troop of five hundred white-clad horsemen being assigned as his escort. The ceremonial of the betrothal, as recounted by Münch, suggests a masque: at the late hour of eleven Maximilian is welcomed by the ladies-in-waiting, is led to his bride and is told to find the flower hidden on her person; he searches shyly and, when he fails to find it, is advised by the bishop standing by: "Schnürt der Jungfrau das Gewand auf, so wird das Blümlein Euch bekannt werden." A kiss on Marie's bosom seals the betrothal. The mumming attendant on the Beilager are suggested by the description in the Weisskunig of the banquet that followed the young king's entry into Ghent, with "saitenspil und seltzam new gesang wundperlich frewd" and other "pangetischen frewden." Molinet, in his Chroniques, remarks: "Les joustes et les festoyements furent de assez grant monstre, où les Alemans se metoyent en peine d'acquérir los et bruit."

Maximilian's letters to his friend Sigmund Prüschenk in 1478 and 1479 mention the pleasures of the dance: "...undt hab den sommer mit gueten lust vertriben als mit kriegen püchsen schiessen veldzuegen harnisch furn auch daneben tantzen und gestochen gerennt undt gejagt." Again in 1485 he writes from Antwerp during the carnival: "...ich hab sehr tantzen und gestochen und gefaschangt, heist hie gemynnet, und grossen dankh von den frauwen verdient, zum meisten erlich gelacht."

Now his coronation as King of the Romans in 1486 gives him the opportunity to develop all his talents at mumming. In his fragmentary Latin autobiography we read how, as a juvenis princeps, he had spared no pains in thinking up "tournaments and jousts, dances and varied festivals" for the ladies; how he had taught them the art of mumming, "artem joculatricem"; and how they rewarded him with the prizes of the wreath and the ring. In the Weisskunig he recalls his ambition to be superior to all other kings in the invention of mumming: "...als er in sein regirung kam, übertraf er mit den pangeten und mumereyen alle kunig, wann er het die erfarung, und durch sein schicklichheit kunt er der andern kunig panget in frembde seltsame panget mit newer erfindung und die mumereyen in vil und manigerlay gestalten ordnen." Molinet describes several of the mumming held during the coronation, one "en habit d'estrange mode, tirant sur le Picardie...une belle mommerie bien regardée et fort prisie." The king changed costume during the dance, first wearing a long French velvet robe, then a short cloth of gold costume. Among the entertainments of the coronation banquet there was also a mock tournament, as Reuchlin tells us in his report, in which one pair of knights caused great laughter by appearing "gantz

bloss und heten grüne krentzlin uf irem har...Das war gar ein lustlich treffen."

The chroniclers of the cities note the dances attended by Maximilian on his frequent visits and the costs entailed; also, the presence of beautiful women and the king's graciousness to them. Along with the dance, a popular burlesque of the tournament was arranged by Maximilian several times in Nuremberg during the Reichstag in 1491: "...und zuletzt kamen 16 auf die pan, die waren mit grünen kiteln und mit heu ausgefült angetan und hetten stroen helm auf und stachen mit kruken mit einander. das was mit grosser kurtzweil zu sehen. Item, so liess die künigliche majestat derselben nacht ein tantz auf dem rathaus halten und macherlei tantz auf welsche und niderlendische art üben und spil treiben, darin auch der künig persönlich in einem schempart was." Heinrich Deichsler's chronicle reports: "Jtem ez kome auch auf die pan 18 in stroen helm und stroen schilten und hetten kroenlein; das strozeug kauft der künig umb 9 gulden und sie heten grun, gross, weit ausgefült kitel, in einem 30 pfenbert heus gefült." As late as 1518 a chronicle note mentions a dance in Augsburg arranged for Maximilian at his request; the ladies, he insisted, were not to wear veils.

Maximilian's second marriage, to Bianca Maria Sforza in 1493, took him to Milan, where he experienced the splendor of an Italian trionfo, the streets decorated with arches in which statues of himself and Duke Sforza were displayed, a celebration that suggested later imitations at the German courts.

The Fastnacht is, of course, the natural time for mumming; wherever he is, at carnival Maximilian indulges his love for masquerading and dancing. From the Tyrol he writes his cousin Sigmund of a peasant dance he had arranged: "...auch lieber vetter, so verkunden wier ewr liebe, daz wier dyse vasnacht nicht getanczt haben, dan alain haben wier Neytharts tancz zugericht, daz ist vnser kurczball gebest mit vnseren pasen pauren." At his court in Innsbruck, as the Hofzahlamts- or Gedenkbücher from 1498 to 1508 note, no money was stinted on costumes for the mumming, Meister Martin the court tailor being charged with procuring them. During the carnival in Augsburg in 1504 the king dresses as a peasant and with seventy other mummers acts out a peasant wedding. The weddings of his courtiers were also suitable occasions for masked dances. The accounts for June 22, 1498, tell us that footmen were employed for the purpose of the mumming: "Die kgl. maj. hat lassen anemen zwelff fuessknecht zu ainer momberei auf herrn Michels von Wolckenstains hockzeit, denselben zwelf knechtn ist geordnet bei maister Martein jedem ain hofclaidt." But there was no occasion which could not be graced by a courtly dance. Maximilian's Fischereibuch shows in one miniature a dance at the edge of a lake, five couples going around in a Schleiftanz, while Maximilian, mounted on a white horse, is in this case merely an observer.

In 1500 he had a permanent private box built in Innsbruck, from which to view the entertainments on the square, the so-called Goldenes Dachl, itself like a pageantic castle, ornamented with reliefs of grotesque dancers and frescoes of a mumming. Or he might enjoy the spectacle of the tableaux vivants along the route of a triumphal entry, as in Ghent in 1508, for which Kervyn de Volkaersbeke found a record of four street theatres, called figueres, no doubt similar to the lebende Bilder seen by Maximilian's daughter-in-law on her entry into Brussels in 1496 and which have been analyzed by Herrmann.

Now in his fifties, Maximilian begins, with typical Renaissance self-glorification, to compile the record of his activities, pastimes and ambitions, never forgetting the dances and mummings he had seen or wished to see. Teuerdank is as accomplished a dancer as he is a hunter and joustier:

Als nun der tanz was angefangen,
Kam die künigin Ernreich gangen
Und trug in ir schneeweissen hand
Einen kranz von dem kraut, genant
Laurus, setzt im den auf sein haupt...

Jndem die trumeter mit saus
Bliesen all in ir trumeten.
Teuerdank der tet herumtreten
Mit'r künigin bis der tanz sich endt.

In the Triumph Burgkmair pictured two groups of mummers: "Das Erst gelidt solle sein die guldin Mumerey, sollen kurtze Rocklein auf alt Swebisch anhaben. Das annder solle sein die hispanisch Mumery, die sollen auch kurtz guldin Rockle mit farben gemist anhaben, vnd an den Arm fliegend zerschniten Erml." Under Die Portenn der Eeren Vnnd Macht of the Ehrenpforte (Pl. 24) appear several jousters and two mummers in turbanned oriental costume. The Weisskunig, aside from the detailed account already mentioned of the nuptial festival in Portugal, based on an ambassador's report, contains a drawing by Burgkmair, showing Maximilian leading a troop of mummers in Hungarian costume and wearing bird masks. With a grand gesture Maximilian dictates to his secretary, Marx Treitzsauerwein, the plan for a book devoted to mummings: "Wiewol er det streitperist kunig ist gewest, so mag ain jeder aus diser meiner schrift versteen, das er auch der frölichist kunig gewesen ist, dann solt ich seine panget, mumereyen und die freudenreich päss, die er gehalten hat, hierinnen beschrieben haben, were zu lang gewest; ich bin aber ungezweiflt, es werde ain aigen puech davon beschrieben."

This book, the Freydal, has been published, with sepia reproductions of the 256 colored drawings it contains, four series of sixty-four each, devoted to "Rennen, Stechen, Kampf,"

and "Mummerei." Like many of the upwards of one hundred books projected by Maximilian the Freydal remained an unfinished draft; the text is a fragment and only five of the drawings were finally turned into woodcuts as planned, by Dürer and Burgkmair. Altogether twenty-six artists worked at the book, ten of them on the representations of the mummmings, as Maximilian remembered or invented them.

The text relates the adventures of Freydal, the joyous knight, as he carries out an assignment in ritterspil given him by three maidens: at sixty-four courts he engages in jousting and, as the Emperor adds in his own hand, "zum wenigisten ain momerey gehalten." This, the pastime of the fourth day at each court, corresponding to the actual sequence of the tournament followed by a mumming, was a chivalrous gesture to the ladies: "damit sich das edel gemut der schönen frauen vnd junckfrauen mit lieblicher kurtzweil ergetzt"; the names of the ladies in the mummmings are listed. The text implies that young Freydal would in the end be chosen as a husband by one of the maidens and that another book of his celebrated deeds would be written in which he would be called Teuerdank. Very little information is given regarding the nature of the mummmings, usually merely the colors of the costumes--"mit ainer wunderbaren momerey von gold, silber vnd edelgestein" or "mit ainer gantz gruenen momerey"--and at times the mention of properties, such as "mit ainer vnausprechlichen wilden momerey vnd kostlichen meerwundern, vogelgesang und ander kurtzweil." The description usually does not correspond to the miniature at all, a lack of collaboration between scribe and artist often found in picture manuscripts.

The Freydal gives us a comprehensive picture of the mummmings held in the garden or castle hall, frequently brilliantly decorated for the occasion: "in den sal, der dann mit gold, silber, edlem gestain vnd allem edellen geruch von edlem holtz vnd gewächs bezieret vnd auf das allercostlichist ausgestrichen was." The ladies and gentlemen observing the mumming sit like an audience along the walls or look down from a balcony; servants or townspeople sometimes look in through doors or windows; the musicians, usually a piper and a drummer, play from a balcony or stand on the dance floor. Two Vortänzer, charged with the arrangement of pairs in the dance, light the way with torches, and, in each miniature Maximilian, also bearing a torch, appears in his white, gold-edged costume. The mummers perform a round dance or the typical sedate step dance of the patricians. Characteristically, the costumes of the men, who in most cases wear a mask of black silk net or gold thread, are borrowed from many countries: Burgundy, Italy, France, Hungary, Turkey. Only rarely do the ladies dress in the same costume. The more imaginative mummmings figured are of hunters with horn and pouch; miners with white smocks and leather aprons; Jews in long caftans; ladies in brocaded dress

and blond, curled wigs; bearded giants bearing tall staves; and fat clowns in striped costumes, wearing wooden masks and bells at their ankles. Of the grotesques common in the carnival, as, for example, in the Nuremberg Schembartlauf, only the bird mask appears, worn by two bands of mummers in Hungarian costume.

Every custom connected with the dance and the mumming is represented in the Freydal. In the mumming at the forty-second court one couple is shown embracing. This reflects the convention of the time, which allowed the dancers to embrace whenever the Vortänzer made a turn; often, the Vortänzer were bribed to make more turns. The morris dance appears three times, performed by five mummers cavorting grotesquely in a circle, the bells at their waists and knees ringing merrily. One of these groups wears a striped and scalloped costume, another feminine dress, the third a costume like the Schembart runners, with long ribbons flying from the headdress and shoulders. Two of the morris dances go around a lady or masked dancer who is presenting an apple in one case and a rose in the other to a fool in cap and bells; in the third miniature these figures seem to have been omitted, though one of the dancers is down on one knee as if to receive a prize characteristic of the morris. Another action-dance is a mock combat in the form of a battle between peasants and mercenaries armed with spears and swords. The last event in the tournament, the distribution of Danke during the mumming, is depicted in a remarkable miniature representing a garden in which a king and queen are giving wreaths and purses to the prizewinners, while all the court looks on in approval; all the mummers wear the long, striped costume, and have crowns on their heads.

The suggestion of theatre inherent in these mumming is further emphasized by the use of a kind of stage set consisting of a tent or pavilion, a popular scenic device in all pageantry. In his account of Maximilian's coronation Molinet mentions a silken pavilion in a mumming, in which singers and instrumentalists performed, and from which there came forth a giant pair in Turkish costume, bearing on their shoulders children dressed as grimacing monkeys; the King himself also used the pavilion as the background for his part of the mumming. A similar scene appears in the Freydal: a tent set on the marble floor of the hall is held open by a mummer dressed as a philosopher while another mummer in Burgundian costume runs into the hall, followed by two monkeys on a chain. In several other miniatures we see the obvious constructions of steps and archways through which the mummers entered the hall.

Although we have no record of rhymes in the mumming, as we have for the Triumph and for later mumming of the sixteenth century, these action scenes seem to indicate their use. Some sort of theatrical motivation may also be assumed, such as occurs in the carnival play Ein Spil von dem Herzog von Burgund by Hans Folz (1489), directly addressed to Maximilian and his

family, or the Ludus Diane of Conrad Celtes, presented at Fastnacht in 1501 before Maximilian and his court. Here the Emperor is drawn into the masque as an actor; like the king in the Freydal miniature he bestows the laurel wreath on his favorite, in this case, Bacchus, and then participates in the general toast at the end of the play. After the play he gives a banquet and gifts to the actors. The mumming, which originally was simply a part of the banquet at the end of the tournament, had now been given dramatic projection. In this light we may understand the reference made in the Gedenkbuch of 1505 to 1508 to the book containing the "Freithart Comedi." The development of a form of elemental theatre was thus stimulated by the enthusiasm of Maximilian and his court for the pastime of mumming.

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